

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

S E C R E T STATE 012465

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: WESTERN POSITION ON SOVIET FREEZE PROPOSAL

REF: STATE 11498

1. IN ADDITION TO THE POSITION TO BE ADVANCED TO THE EAST
REGARDING ITS FREEZE PROPOSAL DESCRIBED IN THE REFTTEL, YOU
SHOULD ALSO ASK THE SPC TO APPROVE THE LINE OF ARGUMENT

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BELOW, WHICH IS INTENDED FOR USE BY WESTERN OFFICIALS

WITH PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESS OPINION IN CAPITALS, BRUSSELS, AND VIENNA IN THE EVENT OF PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE FREEZE PROPOSAL. FYI. WE BELIEVE THIS DRAFT MAY BE HELPFUL IN DEMONSTRATING TO ALLIED OFFICIALS THAT THEY CAN MAKE A CREDITABLE CASE FOR OUR POSITION ON THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL WHICH WILL PROVE ADEQUATE TO MEET POSSIBLE PUBLIC OR POLITICAL PRESSURES ON ALLIED GOVERNMENTS--PRESSURES WHICH HAVE NOT IN ANY EVENT AS YET MATERIALIZED. END FYI.

BEGIN SUGGESTED TEXT.

2. ALLIED ARGUMENTATION. ALLIED OFFICIALS COULD, IF NECESSARY, DRAW ON THE POINTS BELOW IN DISCUSSING THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL WITH WESTERN PRESS OR PARLIAMENTS:

--(1) THE EAST HAS MADE A PROPOSAL IN VIENNA TO FREEZE ALL AIR AND GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN CENTRAL EUROPE AT PRESENT LEVELS.

(2) NATO, FOR ITS PART, HAS PROPOSED TO THE EAST IN CONNECTION WITH A FIRST TROOP REDUCTION AGREEMENT A COMMITMENT NOT TO INCREASE AND THUS TO FREEZE GROUND AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

(3) THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PROPOSALS ARE:
A. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF FREEZING FORCE LEVELS AT THEIR PRESENT UNEQUAL LEVEL, CONTRACTUALIZING EASTERN GROUND FORCE SUPERIORITY. THE WEST IS AIMING FOR PARITY IN GROUND FORCES IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS.

B. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL IS NOT CONNECTED WITH REDUCTIONS, WHICH ARE THE MAIN BUSINESS OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS AND SEEMS DESIGNED TO REDUCE THE INCENTIVE FOR THE EAST TO AGREE TO REDUCTIONS. THE WESTERN NO-INCREASE PROPOSAL IS A PACKAGE PROPOSAL ENVISAGING SIGNIFICANT SOVIET AND US REDUCTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH A COMMITMENT NOT TO INCREASE THE REMAINING GROUND AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

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C. THE EAST THUS FAR HAS REFUSED TO EXCHANGE FORCE STRENGTH DATA WITH THE WEST. THERE CANNOT BE A FORCE FREEZE UNLESS ONE KNOWS AT WHAT LEVELS FORCES ARE BEING FROZEN. THE ALLIED PROPOSAL IS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTIONS THAT PRECISE DATA WHICH THE ALLIES HAVE OFFERED TO EXCHANGE WITH THE EAST WOULD BE AGREED.

D. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL SEEKS TO IMPOSE NATIONAL CEILINGS ON THE FORCES OF THE NATO COUNTRIES. THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FORESEES A COLLECTIVE CEILING WHICH WOULD PERMIT CONTINUED INTRA-ALLIED COOPERATION AND SPECIALIZATION.

(4) AS REGARDS DISCUSSION ON THIS TOPIC, THE WEST IS STILL SEEKING TO GAIN EASTERN AGREEMENT TO ITS PROPOSALS AS PART OF AN OVERALL REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT. KISSINGER

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